ALEXANDERS

INVASION

of

GUJRAT

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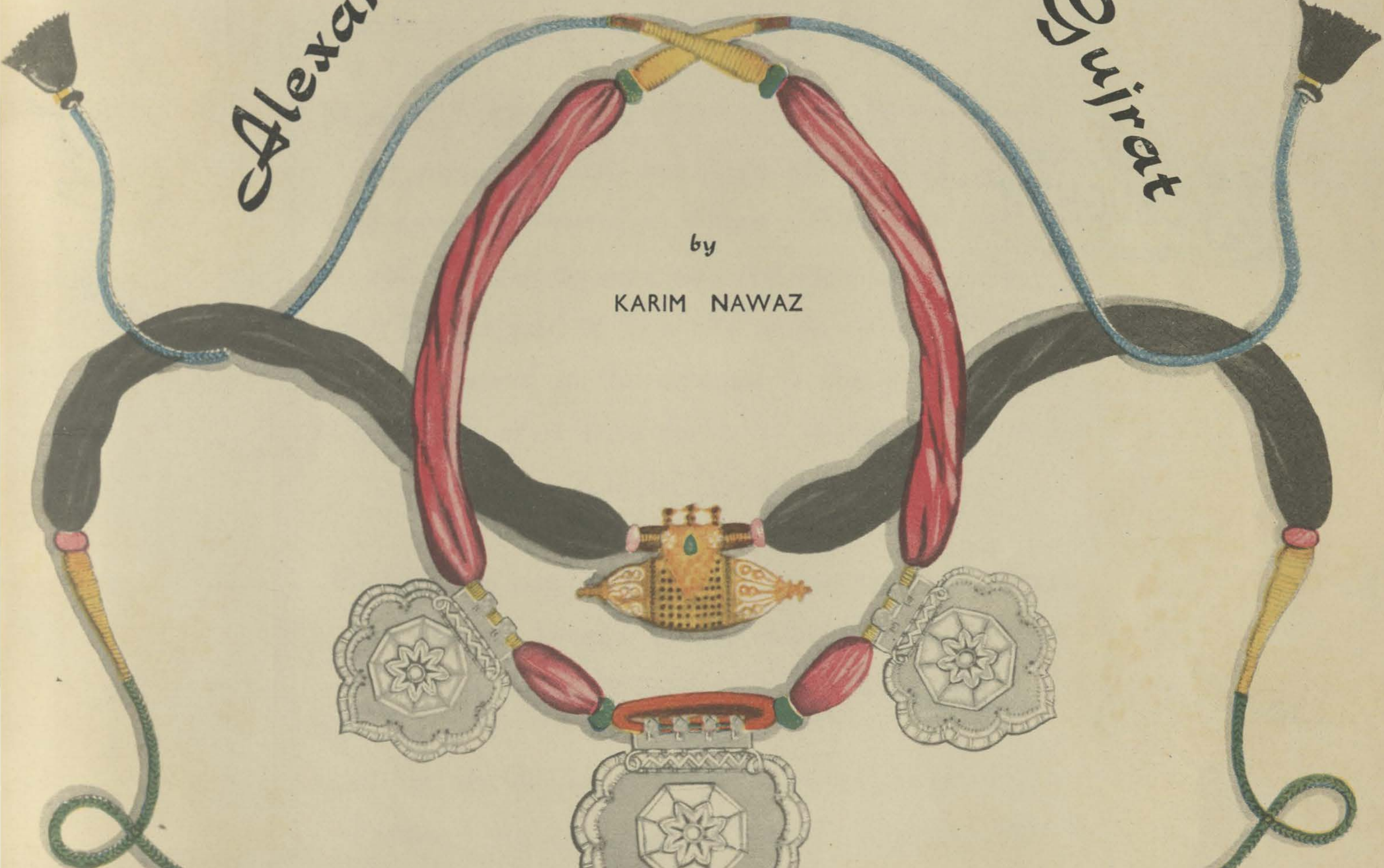


Karim Nawaz

Alexander's Invasion of Gujrat

by

KARIM NAWAZ



Margins of the text have been purfled with the Facsimile of ornaments and household effects which were used during the period of Alexander's invasion and are still in use in the rural area of Gujrat District. An artist was engaged to draw the pictures of the ornaments as preserved in the museum of Taxila. Pictures of household effect were drawn by visiting houses in the Gondal Bar area.

For the title page design I am indebted to my friend Mr. M. A. K. Yousafi of the Australasia Bank who was kind to take keen interest in the matter.

But for the kindness of Sh. Bashir Ahmad of Ilmi Printing Press these pages would not have seen the light of the day. I am deeply indebted to him for his kind help.

Respectfully Presented

To

MALIK AMIR MUHAMMAD KHAN

H. PK.

of Kala Bagh

GOVERNOR WEST PAKISTAN

ہمیں شرم دارم کہ پائے ملخ را
سوئے بارگاہِ سلیمان فرستم

Preface

I was privileged to serve the District of Gujrat as its Deputy Commissioner from July 27, 1962 to January 27, 1965. During my two and a half years of stay I availed myself of the opportunity to survey the whole district particularly the right and left bank of River Jhelum (Hydaspes) and compare the topography of the area as given by Arrian, Plutarch, Pliny, Strabo, Nearchus and Curtius, and locate the spot where the battle between Alexander the Great and Poros could have taken place. It was a labour of love and I have the pleasure of presenting it in the following pages. It was indeed a matter of boundless pleasure for me to pick up threads of scattered history and piece them together to make a readable story. There are some traces still extant of the impact of Greek invasion on the name, nomenclature and history of this principality. The village Hillan with its pre-historic mounds still suggests its real name as Helen—one of the many outposts which Alexander the Great set up all over the conquered territory and settled his Greek occupation army.

According to Pliny, Alexander was presented by Sophytes (Sophites or Sopeithes), the King of Albania with a dog of unusual size which successfully attacked both a lion and an elephant in his presence. The same story is repeated by his copyist, Solinus without any change in the name of the country. We know from the united testimony of Strabo, Diodorus and Curtius that the Indian King who presented Alexander with these fighting dogs was Sophites and he, therefore, must have been the King of Albania. For this name Alexander Cunningham proposes to read Labania by the simple transposition of the first two letters. This suggests the Sanskrit word Lavana or 'Salt' as the original of puzzling name Albania. The mountain itself is named Oromonus by Pliny who notes that the Kings of this country derived a greater revenue from the rock-salt than either from Gold or Pearls. Thus Sophites was the King of salt range in the present district of Jhelum. It is stated that when these dogs were set on a lion they refused to release their bite even though their legs were cut off with a saw. 'Suhabaties' of the village "Jalalpur Suhabatian" are most certainly the descendants of Alexander's Sophites.

The ravages of flooded Jhelum have washed away the traces of Bukephala, a city built in the memory of Royal Horse Bucephalus who according to some historians died of an injury received at the hands of the son of Poros and according to Arrian died of old age and exhaustion. He was about thirty and worn out. In former days he had shared with Alexander many a danger and many a weary march. No one ever rode him but his master, for he would never permit anyone to ride him. He was a big horse, high spirited—a noble creature; he was branded with the figure of an ox-head, whence his name—though some have said that the name came from a white mark on his head—shaped like the head of an OX. This was the only bit of white on his body, all the rest of him being black[1]. Even today 2½ miles below Mangla wherefrom according to my investigation Alexander must have crossed River Jhelum (Hydaspas) there still exists a ruined village named Shah Ghora (Royal Horse) and a tomb measuring about 9 yards stands on an earthen mound which has been sanctified as the tomb of Nau-Gazza saint.

Close to Bukephala Alexander built another city named Nikaea. Niki in Greek means victory. Nikaea was built to commemorate Alexander's victory over Poros. Quite close to the village Shah Ghora, there stands an earthen mound at visible distance which the villagers call Sui Niki. This pre-historic earthen mound still yields on a rainy day coins, bricks and bits of broken pottery which lends clear evidence to the fact that this mound is remains of an old ruined city.

So much history is packed in this small strip of land 30 miles by 70 miles that on every inch of this land one expects a treasure house of historical finds—dating from Alexander's defeat of Poros in 326 B.C. to Lord Gough's defeat of Sher Singh during the middle of the nineteenth century.

It is to the eternal shame of Hindoo Historians that we learn from none else but the Greek Historians the very name of this Great Prince who, when required by the greatest conqueror of history to come and pay homage, had the courage to send the proud reply that, he would meet the Greek Emperor at the frontier of his domain and settle his relations with him by the keen edge of his sword. Poros is Greek version of some Hindoo name which is eternally lost to the posterity because narrow minded Hindoo Historians, in order to extol the courage and virtues of their nation would not deign to mention the defeat of a Hindoo Raja and gladly consign the memory of such an illustrious son of the soil to the limbo of oblivion.

It was no joke to muster courage strong enough to hurry into conflict with a powerful antagonist like the World Conqueror Alexander the Great, without stopping to calculate the means which were opposed to him. But the magnitude of the peril, confirmed the fortitude of Poros who vowed "to make his mother's milk resplendent". The bare idea that a King with Paurava blood in his veins should bow the head to a mortal man—may he be the conqueror of the world—was insupportable and he spurned every overture which had submission for its basis. Though wealth and fortune tempted the fidelity of Raja Ambhi of Taxila and Abhisara of Rajuri and Bhimber, not one of his own kith and kin was found base enough to desert him. Stripaces his nephew and his own two sons shed their blood in his cause, and Poros himself received nine wounds on his person and remained steadfast till the terrible carnage decimated his whole army. Due to the loss of blood Poros was

1. Arrian's life of Alexander.

fainting with thirst. When he saw Raja Ambhi galloping afetr him and harkened him to stop and submit, though fainting with weakness and thirst, he gathered all his strength which his wounded arm could muster and threw a javelin at his accursed foe.

Had the District of Gujrat possessed her Thucydides or her Xenophon, neither the wars of the Peloponesus nor the retreat of the "ten thousand" would have yielded more diversified incidents for the historic muse than the deeds of this brilliant prince. Undaunted heroism, inflexible fortitude, perseverance which "keeps honour bright" with fidelity such as no other nation can boast, were the materials opposed to soaring ambitions, commanding talents and fervour of a world conquest zeal; all, however, insufficient to contend with the unconquerable mind. There is not an inch of land hemmed in between Jhelum and Chenab that is not sanctified by some deed of Poros—some brilliant deed of heroism or some glorious defeat. Mangla is the Thermopylae of Gujrat: The fields of KARRI plain are her Marathon.

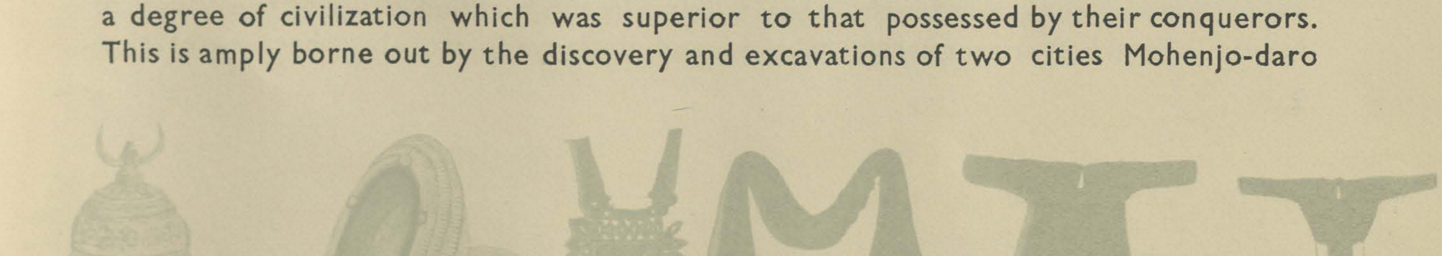
Lahore:
Dated the 23rd July, 1965

KARIM NAWAZ

Ancient History of Indus Valley

The geographical position of the part of ancient India known as the Punjab is such that it must have been among the earliest settlements of mankind. The advantages it possesses in soil and climate, immense fertile plains, rich valleys and abundant water-supply confirms the belief that it must have been occupied by original races.

The aborigines who inhabited India at the time of early Hindoo invasion are called in the Rig Veda as Asuras, Rakshasas, Syums, Dasyus and Dasas or slaves. The Aryans are found in the Rig Veda invoking their gods to grant them room against the Dasyus. They are described as living in cities and well-built dwellings, a circumstance, which makes it clear that, in that remote times, the aborigines had made fair progress in civilization. The ancient Hindoo god Indra is described as "destroying the perennial cities of the Asuras and humiliating their defenders", "destroying the cities of the Dasyus" and "demolishing the hostile and ungodly cities". He is given the credit of demolishing "a hundred cities of stone for the pious "Divodasa". Agni is likewise celebrated as "having destroyed the spacious iron walled cities of the Dasyus" and having slain them. Although Indian scholars' claim for Rig Veda a much earlier antiquity, the scholars in the West are inclined to assign Rig Veda a date ranging between 1500 B.C. and 1200 B.C. Thus before the descent of Aryan race, more than 3,000 years ago, the aborigines of India had reached a degree of civilization which was superior to that possessed by their conquerors. This is amply borne out by the discovery and excavations of two cities Mohenjo-daro



in the Larkana District of Sindh and Harappa in the Montgomery District of the Punjab. These excavations reveal that some 5,000 years ago a high level civilization flourished in these parts of the Punjab and Sindh. The area of the cities excavated is quite large. Dwelling houses range from palaces with frontages of over eighty-five feet to small buildings of two rooms. They are made of brick and the larger buildings have two or more storeys with paved floors, narrow stair-ways and courtyards. Some larger structures with pillard halls are assumed to have been temples or administrative offices. In the centre of the city is a great bath 180 feet long by 108 feet wide with walls 8 feet thick. The wide streets of the city have elaborate drainage system. This all is indicative of a large and flourishing population which had attained a high-level civilization and were living in considerable luxury and comfort.

Advent of the Aryans

Though the original home land of the Aryans cannot be determined with accuracy, in all probability, they infiltrated from Iran and were the inheritors of Sumer civilization. Though they were not a race in genetic sense, yet they were sufficiently homogenious to demand a group-identity which was claimed by DARIUS I (486 B.C.), as the engraving on his tomb-stone indicates:—

"PARSA, PARSAHYA PUTHRA, ARYA, ARYA CITHRA".

(A Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan of Aryan descent).

Being fresh from the cold northern country, they were fair in colour and called themselves Arya, *viz*., the 'noble', the 'honourable' or the 'ruling'.

These hoards of Aryans moved into the Punjab by penetrating through the Hindoo-Kush mountains situated on the North-West. They descended into the valley of Indus about the year 2000 B.C., *i.e.*, "about the time when the kingdom of Elam was predominent in the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris, when Assyria still stood under the domination of Babylon and the kingdom of *Memplies* was ruled by *Hyksos*".

Causes and the circumstances which induced the Aryans to leave their abode and descend into the plains of Punjab are not known. However, the area of their earliest first occupation was close to the outposts of Indus valley and in their ancient scripture, mention is frequently made of Indus and not of the Ganges.

This migration was followed by fresh waves of immigrants. This necessitated expansion and conflict with the people living in the fortified cities of the valley of Indus, who were consequently crushed and destroyed, probably because of that

characteristic historical movement in which decadent high-level civilization falls so easily to the vigour of the barbarians.

These Aryans of the first invasion remained a nomadic people, an administration in the tent rather than the city as it is borne out by the hymns of Rig-Veda. The high god of the Vedas, Indra, is known as the 'breaker of the cities (Parumdara) but no mention is made of a builder or possessor of cities. The Sanskrit word for brick (ista) does not occur in Rig-Veda. Some time later, the Aryan conquerors inter-married with the female slaves they captured and, in time, produced a mixed race adopting the customs of their mothers.

This wave of migration of the Aryans from the Caucasian range was not only limited to India. At about the same time some of their tribes immigrated into Europe and settled in Greece, different tracts of Scandinavia, Germany and Italy. One of the western off-shoots founded the Persian monarchy while another stock settled in Spain and ancient England.

Their language, at the time of immigration, was Crude Sanskrit. Modern Philologists have proved the common origin of the Sanskrit with the learned languages of the West. The mutual relationship of the Aryan, Greek, Latin, Letto-Sclavonian, Germanic and Celtic languages proves, beyond doubt, the affinity of the nations who speak them. The words are our common inheritance, the relics of antiquity descended to us from our fore-fathers in ages of gone by; and, as coins help us in deciphering the land-marks of ancient history, so do languages and the words which, like coins, we exchange in our daily avocation and the necessary intercourse of life.

Following instances of words common in the languages of the East and West will lend further support, if one is needed, to the theory of the common Aryan ancestry of the Indians and Europeans.

We recognise in the Persian word *Punjab* (the five rivers) the Πέντε of the Greek, the *aber* of the modern Welsh; in *Doab* (space between two rivers) the Greek δύο or the Latin *Duo* and the same in Welsh. In *Raja*, Sanskrit, the Latin *Rex;* In *Badnam* Persian, the *badname* of English, almost without change. The *warm* of English in the *Waram* of old German, *Werm* of old Duch, *Formus* of old Latin, *Oepuos* of Greek, *Garm* in Persian and *Gharma* of Sanskrit. *Father*, English, is *Fa'der* in Gothic, *Vader* in Duch, *Vater* in German, *Pater* in Latin, *Padar* in Persian and *Pita* in Sanskrit. For *Mother*, English, we have the Icelandic *Mother*, Danish and Swedish *Moder*, old Germanic *Muotar*, *muatar*, Latin *Mater*, Sanskrit Mata, Persian *Mo'dar*, old Sclavonic *Mati* Russian *Maty*, Irish *Mathaig*, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese *Madre*,

French *Mere* and Urdu *Ma'n*. The case is the same with *Brother, Sister* and many other words commonly used in daily life. The English word *Widow* is derived from two Sanskrit words, *vi & dh'ava* (Vidhava), *vi* meaning without and *dh'ava* meaning husband. It is in German *Wedewe, Wituwa, Wituwa, Witwa;* Prussian *Widdewa*, Latin *Vidua*, from *Viduus*, bereft of husband. Similarly, the word *Daughter* is derived from Sanskrit word *Duhitri*, meaning a milkmaid—that being the special part of the domestic economy which fell to the share of a daughter among the early Aryans. In Duch it is *Dogter, Docher*, Iceland *Dottir*, Swedish *dotter* and *dattir*, Gothic *Dauhter*, Persian *Dukhtar*. The Indian *Deva*, the bright one, from *Div* to shine, is the Latin *Deitas* from *Deus* God, or *Divas, Dius*, belonging to a diety, Lithuanian *Deuas*, French *Deite*, Spanish *Deidad*, Portuguese *Diadode*, Italian *Dieta*. It recurs as the *zeus* (Dyaus) of the Greek and the *Jupitar* (Dyauspitar) of the Romans.

What does this mutual relationship of words spoken by nations separated by remote distances from one another prove? It proves two things; first, that the nations which possess and use these words have a common descent in both the continents of Europe and Asia and second, they have sprung from a common stock.

Adverting to the early Aryans in the valley of Indus, after they became more sophisticated, inheriting from the Indus civilization the plough and the techniques of pottery, weaving and carpentary, they in turn were invaded by the fresh hoards of immigrants. This second invasion happens to have taken place not later than 1000 B.C. This resulted in a continuous fight between the old settlers and new arrivals and Vedic hymns record great battles fought by infantry armed with bows and arrows, spears, swords and battle-axes. (The hymns of Rig Veda (1,028 hymns) were composed by the Aryans community settled in the Punjab and in the colonies along the Indus).

This continual inter-tribal strife and the pressure of the second invasion compelled the Aryans to move eastwards. As they moved towards the east, these Vedic heroes of the valley of Indus had not only to contend against the old population, but they also became involved in wars among themselves for the acquisition of the best territories. In these contests for sovereign power, the immigrants attached themselves to their respective leaders or chiefs and in the course of time petty chieftainships merged into comparatively powerful chieftainships and in the long run two powerful tribes Kauravas and Pandavas emerged.

Epic Age

Kauravas and Pandavas are immortalised by the famous epic poem Mahabharata. Mahabharata deals with a period about 1200 B.C. The composition is ascribed to a

sage named Wasaya who flourished in 200 B.C. The great epic of "the war of descendants of Bharta", deals with the battle between Kauravas and Pandavas. Pandavas or the people of Suria (Solar) race are represented by their king Yudishtir with his capital at Indraparasta (Delhi). Kauravas or the men of Chandra (Lunar) race were ruled by the king Dhritarashtra with his headquarters at Hastinapur, on the Ganges. In this "Great War", fifty royal leaders and many tributary and allied princes took part. Krishna deified by the present day Hindoos, fought on the side of Pandavas while Bhishma was the General of the Kauravas army. The battle raged with great fury for eighteen days and resulted in the total discomfiture of Kauravas. The vanquished and aging King Dhritarashtra along with his wife Gandhari retired to the forests and perished into the flames.

The epic poem Ramayana is another work and refers to a period about 1000 B.C. but the compilation belongs to a later date. The celebrated author is named Valmiki. It is written in a language which bears witness to a high literary and aesthetic culture. The story, briefly stated is that Rama eldest son of the King of Ayodhya, pursued by the jealousy of his step-mother, is exiled for fourteen years to the forests. His wife Sita is carried away by Ravana the king of the Island of Lanka (modern Ceylon). In her retrieval, Rama is assisted by the tribe of monkeys whose leaders were Sugriva and Hanuman. Ravana's refusal to surrender Sita resulted in a war in which Ravana met his death and Rama returned in triumph to Ayodhya with his rescued wife.

Caste System

In Rig-Veda, there were two classes of people in the land, *viz.*, the ruling class (the Aryans) and the subject population (the Dravidians and other aborigines). Aryans settlers did not come with large number of women folk. Perforce, they were obliged to marry Dravidian wives. Thus after some time, probably in the later Vedic age, their priests and wise men noticed with alarm that purity of the blood of their race was being lost. They feared that their race in time would lose its strength of body and mind. To stop further blending, they laid down strict rules against inter-marriage. This is how the caste system originated. The Sanskrit word for caste is Varna—(Colour). It lends support to the theory that original idea of caste system was based on the difference of colour, White (Aryans) and Black (Aborigines).

From these two epics emerges a view of Indo-Aryan society in its post-Vedic stage. The caste system had become more rigid. With the development of caste system, Brahmins who acted as councillors at the courts of different sovereigns,

began to gain ascendency. Brah (to grow) is the root of the word 'Brahmins', which means one who elevates or causes to grow or increase. True to their name the Brahmins began to grow and elevate and gained supremacy alike over the king and the people. The predominence of the Brahmins over all other castes created a new era in the history of the Hindoos. They secured their social supremacy by a compilation of customary laws known as the 'Code of Manu'. Code of Manu is an important historical document. It represents the spirit and character of Hindooism after the caste had been firmly and thoroughly organized. It was finally compiled between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D., but it was based on much older materials.

Manu, a Brahmin of Magadha, viewed the frequent admission of the foreigners into the circle of Brahmanism with concern and determined to re-affirm the position of the caste Hindoos, codified the laws and customs and the rules of Government, which Brahmins and sages of Manava family thought to be the best for the Hindoo society of that time. He elevated the Brahmins to be the chief of all the worldly creation. He was boosted to be the incarnation of God. Everything in the world belonged to Him. All other clans enjoyed life but by the kindness of the Brahmins.

The old religion of Vedas which was pragmatic and sacrificial had lost its appeal with the masses. The cult of Brahminism, in order to maintain its supremacy, apart from dividing the society into rigid compartments of caste, encouraged polytheism, and laid stress on rituals.

As a revolt against the diverse polytheism and the arrogant claims of the Brahmins, two new religions, namely, Buddhism and Jainism, were born.

Sidhartha Gautama or Sakyamuni, who was known for his enlightenment as the Buddha, was born in the year 560 B.C. He was the son of Suddhdana, a Prince in the small town of Kapila-Vastu, situated in the territory of Sakya clan, at the foot of Nepal mountains. Hence he is often called Sakyamuni, or Sakya sage. Popular legend of a later date have represented him as the son of a mighty king born and brought up amidst the luxuries of a palace. The fact, however, is that the Sakyas had no king, and the father of Gautama was probably elected to the chief position in the state for the time being. Having married at the age of eighteen, for ten years he had all that is thought to make up the joy of life. But the young chief was not happy. He saw pain, sickness and sorrow all around him in the world . So one night he left his father, wife and child, fled into the forests to find a way to save the humanity from pain, sin and fear of death. This is known as the *Great Renunciation* or giving up of the world. He subjected himself to the severest penances, enduring hunger,

thirst, heat,cold and storm, but having failed after six years of continual mortification and austerities to discover the truth, he gave himself up to meditation, and at last conceived that he had arrived at the knowledge necessary to enable a man to disregard the evils that flesh is heir to.

Disgusted with the diverse polytheism of the Brahmins, he simply ignored the question of supreme deity or its essence. He took the middle way. This was a simple recognition of four truths: The truth of pain, birth, sickness, etc. The truth of origin of pain-desire; the truth of the end of pain—by eliminating desire; and the truth of way to its elimination—eight-fold path. The eight-fold path is right views, right resolve, right speech, right action, right living, right effort, right mindedness and right contemplation. This led to the attainment of positive happiness and eternal bliss, called Nirvana—freedom from the greatest of all miseries, cycles of births and re-births.

Buddha died in 480 B.C. at the ripe age of eighty years, at Kusinagara, and had succeeded in gaining a large following.

Jainism

Jainism was founded by Parasnath, a Jain monk of the eighth century B.C. But it was organized as a definite order by Mahavira Vardhaman, the supposed founder of the religion. Parasnath laid down the following four great vows, *viz.*, Ahimsa (harmlessness towards beings), truthfulness, non-stealing and renouncing all illusory objects.

Mahavira was born in about 599 B.C. Second son of Sidhartha, a ruling chief of Vaisali (North of Patna) his family was the follower of Parasnath. Quitting the doctrines preached by his master Parasnath, Mahavira devised an order of his own. His order admitted all castes, even the lowest Sudra. He rejected the Vedantic doctrine of a universal soul, nor did he believe in a supreme being as the creater of the universe. God according to his teachings, is the manifestation of all the noblest powers which lie latent in the soul of man.

He repudiated the Vedas and rituals mentioned therein, but believed in Nirvana, Karma and transmigration of soul like Buddha.

Alexander was not the first foreign king to invade the Indian soil. Misraim, son of Ham and the grandson of Noaha (of the Deluge fame) was the first to inhabit

the country now known as Egypt. This is why ancient Hindoos called Egypt Misrasthan, and even today it is known as Misr. Menes, its earliest ruler, is regarded as the first sovereign of the human race. The credit of having been the first invader of India is also given to Osiris, one of the Egypt's earliest kings. The writers of antiquity considered Osiris to be the original Dionysius or Bacchus. His genealogy is lost in the fables but he is acknowledged to have flourished at a period long before the Greeks emerged from Barbarism, and is praised not only as a great warrior but also a promoter of the useful arts. Having completed the conquest of Ethopia and Arabia, he marched at the head of his forces to India and entered Punjab by the Persian frontier. He had in his train Triptolemus, skilled in husbandry, Maro, a planter of vines and Muses, skilled in music. After conquering Punjab, he pushed further up to the mouth of Ganges and stayed in India for three years before he returned back to Egypt. Dionysius found Indians in a primitive state, ignorant and barbarous. It was he who taught the Indians through Triptolemus the art of cultivating the land. Muses introduced the music and Maro encouraged the plantation of vines. He ultimately came to be worshipped like God by the Indians and Egyptian. Isis and Osiris are the Isu and Iswara of the Hindoos.

Second foreign invader of the Punjab was Semiramis, the famous queen of Assyria. In the ninth century B.C., Ninus, the founder of Nineveh became the sovereign after the ancient empire of Babylonia was absorbed in Assyria. Ninus was succeeded by his queen Semiramis. Attracted by the immense riches of India, she led an expedition to conquer it. The principal scene of this memorable exploit was the region bordering on the Indus. The great obstacles in the execution of her ambitious design were, it is said, chiefly two, the presence of a wide and turbulent stream on the north-west of India (River Indus) and the superiority of Indians in possessing war elephants. To overcome these difficulties, she caused a number of faked elephants built by stuffing the pieced pieces of hides and provided them with motive power by introducing camels in them. She also employed naval architects from Phoenicia, Cyprus and other maritime districts bordering the Assyrian empire, in Bactria (بلخ) to construct vessels suited for navigating Indus. It took her three years to complete preparations and the enormous structures fabricated were conveyed from Bactria over-land. Staurabotes, the then monarch of India advanced to meet her on the banks of Indus. Superior naval arrangements of the Phoenicians, combined with their skill in navigating the fleet enabled them to inflict a terrible defeat on the Indians. Having built a bridge over Indus, she crossed the river and arranging her improvised elephants in the rear, she gave a pitched battle to Staurabotes. Some deserters from the Phoenician's army divulged the secret of queen's elephants to the Indian king. This gave a heart to the

Indian soldiers. They fought a sanguinary battle and ultimately defeated the Assyrian Queen. The queen was herself engaged in a hand to hand fight and she gave singular proofs of her personal heroism and valour. Wounded in body and afflicted in mind, she effected her retreat to her native land. Some say that she herself perished in the fight. Semiramis is believed to be Sami Rama of Hindoo Puranas and she is worshipped by the Hindoos as a deity.

Persian Conquest

The first recorded invasion of India by the Persians was under Fridun, the son of celebrated, Jamshed, the founder of Persepolis who flourished in 750 B.C. According to Mahabharata India was for a long time before Cyrus (Kai Kaus 551—530 B.C.) subject to the king of Persia. Although the extent of Fridun's Indian domain is not known but Punjab was certainly included in it. Shaugal or according to "Firishta" Shinkol, Raja of Kanuj refused to pay tribute to Afrasiab, the king of Persia. Afrasiab sent Pieran his General to chastise Shinkol. Routed by the Indians, Pieran shut himself up in the hills. Afrasiab himself hastened to his relief and defeated the Raja of Kanauj. Afrasiab put Rhoat, son of Shinkol on the Indian throne and took Shinkol as prisoner to Turan.

In 521 B.C. Darius (Dara I), the son of Hystaspes conquered Afghanistan and a part of India. Darius also commissioned a Greek named Scylax of Caryandria to determine the exact point at which the Indus meets the ocean. He spent two years on this assignment and must have gone right up to Karachi. Scylax, according to Herodotes, setting out from Kaspatyras in the Paktyikan district, reached the mouth of that river whence he sailed through the Indian ocean to the Red Sea, performing the whole voyage in thirty months. It cannot be determined with certainty where is the city of Kaspatyras located. We find no traces of any such place in the West of Indus. Alexander and his Generals met with no such city, nor is there any other notice of it in this direction. On the east of the river we have some vestige of it in oriental appellations, and Kaspatyras is connected apparently with Kashmir. The preferable reading of the name is Kaspa-Pyrus. It is so styled by the old Geographer Hecataeus, and the alteration is probably an error. Kasyapa-pur, the city of Kasyapa is, according to the Sanskrit writers, the original designation of Kashmir; not of the province of the present day, but of the kingdom in its palmy days, when it comprehended great part of the Punjab, and extended no doubt as far as, if not beyond, the Indus.

According to the description given by the Herodaotus, Darius must have conquered North-West Frontier Province, Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan.

Irruptions of Scythians

Scythians trace their ancestry to Japhet. Gog and Magog of the Arabian historians are the descendants of Japhet. Magog was Japhet's second son, and it clearly gives the origin of the word "Moghal". Moghal's real name was Mungol Khan. Oghaz who was the contemporary of Caiumeras, the first regular king of Persia, was the grandson of Magog or Mungol Khan. This patriarch of the Scythians conquered Kabul, Ghazni and reduced Northern India including Gujrat and Kashmir. Gagma, the Ruler of Kashmir offered stout resistance but he was defeated and Gagma himself was murdered.

Again in 650 B.C., during the time of Cyaxares the first sovereign of Media, Tartar Hordes entered into Punjab. They were repulsed with great slaughter by Cyaxares. A considerable portion of the routed army settled in the Punjab. A portion of these settlers the descendants of Massagetae, were called the Getes, from whom sprung the modern Jats. In works of Pliny and Ptolemy they are called Jatii and in that of Strabo, Zemthii. When Alexander invaded Punjab in 326 B.C. he found Rawalpindi district occupied by a tribe called Takkas or Takshaks. These Takkas were the remnants of Scythian host. The city of Taxila owes its name to these Takshaks.

It is somewhat remarkable that the Greeks should have learned hardly anything of importance regarding India from the expeditions which were undertaken against it by the Egyptians under Osiris, the Assyrians under Semiramis, and the Persians under Fridun and Darius, son of Hystaspes. Perhaps they disdained, through pride of their own superior enlightenment, to pay attention to the transactions of people whom they considered as barbarous, especially in countries far remote from their own. But in whatever way the fact may be accounted for, India continued to be to the Greeks little better than a land of mystery and fable till the times of the Persian wars, when for the first time, they became distinctly aware of its existence. They must, however, have known of its existence as early as the heroic times, for we find from Homer that they used even then articles of Indian merchandize, which went among them by names of Indian origin, such as Kassiteros, 'tin' and elephas, 'ivory'. Kassiteros represents the Sanskrit Kastira,—'tin', and elephas is undoubtedly connected with Ibha, the Sanskrit name for the domestic elephants. But their conception of it was vague in the extreme. They imagined it to be an Eastern Ethopia which stretched away to the uttermost verge of the world. The first historian who speaks clearly of India is HEKATAIOS OF MILETOS (B.C. 549—486), and fuller accounts are preserved in Herodotos and in the remains of Ktesias, who having lived for some years in Persia as Private Physician to King ARTAXERXES

MNEMON, collected material during his stay for a treatise on India, the first work on the subject written in the Greek language. His descriptions were unfortunately full of exaggerated accounts and were mixed with fables. It was left to Alexander and his followers to give for the first time an accurate account of the country and its inhabitants. Alexander had in his train a host of scientists and capable men to chronicle his achievements and describe the countries to which he carried his arms.

The scene of Alexander's battle with Poros has long engaged the attention and exercised the ingenuity of the learned. I was privileged to hold the administrative charge of Gujrat district for over two years. Poros was the Raja of the territory coterminous with the present district of Gujrat. I have had many opportunities of closely observing the areas wherefrom Alexander could have possibly crossed Jhelum and where the battle with Poros could have taken place. I also closely studied the observations made by the celebrated authorities like Elphinstone, Burns, General Court, Vincint Smith and last but not the least Alexander Cunningham, on this subject. I have the pleasure of presenting the result of this love labour in the following chapter. If it helps to initiate interest in the subject, I will consider my labour amply rewarded.

Alexander's Invasion of Gujrat

During the 4th Century B.C., the region enclosed by the Kabul valley right up to the lower course of Indus was covered by a number of independent tribes each recognizing its own headman.

In some parts of this region some despotic Rajas had consolidated a principality, and each was struggling to extend his authority over the other or over the free tribes. Mistrust and mutual jealousies had led them to form alliances of dubious value to suit immediate ends and exigencies.

During this period the city of Taxila was widely known as a great seat of learning. In the year 327 B.C., it was the capital of a Raja whose dominion extended between Indus and Jhelum.[1] It was the first city where the merchants coming from Kabul valley halted after crossing the Indus valley. Being a gateway of the land of five rivers, its Raja remained up-to-date with the events of Afghanistan and Persia.

The Raja of Taxila was at war, both with the hill kingdom of Abhisara and the more powerful state governed by the king whose name, to our eternal shame, is lost in the annals of India but whom the Greeks called Poros.[2]

1. The Hedaspes of Ptolemy, Hydaspas of Alexander and Vitasta of Sanskrit.

2. The country of Poros, according to Strabo lay between the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and Akesines (Chenab) and contained 3C0 towns.

The personality of Poros was awe-inspiring indeed, a well built hefty giant of six feet, six inches, a warrior chief of dauntless courage who would not rest unless he had pushed his frontiers to the limits of his ambitions. On his east, the tribes right beyond the Hydraotes[1] had felt the force of his arm. The territory across the Hydaspes, which the Raja of Taxila considered his own, also felt the pinch of his aggressive expansion.

The news about the great catastrophe of the Persian empire, dethroning of the Great King (Darius III) and the burning of Persepolis, in 330 B.C., must have reached the ears of the Raja of Taxila. A desire to seek the help of the Yavana King against his enemies in the neighbouring States, made the decision easy for the Raja when Alexander sent summons calling upon the Raja to meet him (Alexander) in the valley of Kabul. The Raja obeyed the summons and tendered his submission to Alexander at some place in the valley of Kabul.

His first interview with Alexander is recorded by Plutarch:

> "To what purpose", said the Raja of Taxila, "should we make war upon one another, if the design of your coming into these parts be not to rob us of our water or our necessary food, which are the only things that wise men are indispensably obliged to fight for? All other riches and possessions, as they are accounted in the eyes of the world, if I am better provided of them than you, I am ready to let you share with me; but if fortune has been more liberal to you than me; I have no objection to be obliged to you".

This discourse pleased Alexander so much that embracing him, he said: "Do you think, your kind words and courteous behaviour will bring you off in this interview without a contest? No you shall not escape so. I shall contend and do battle with you so far, that howsoever obliging you are, you shall not have the better of me". Then receiving some presents from him, Alexander returned him others of greater value and to complete his bounty, gave him in money ready coined 1,000 talents; at which Alexander's old friends were much displeased.

While Alexander was still fighting in the valleys of the North Kabul, he sent a Division of his army under Hephaestion and Perdiccas along with the Raja of Taxila to make its way along the Kabul river to the Indus.

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1. Ravi.

Hephaestion and Perdiccas had constructed a boat-bridge over the River Indus before Alexander's Division struck Indus on his descent from the hills. The place where Indus was bridged is identified as Ohind, some 16 miles from Atak (Attock).

The great conqueror crossed Indus during the early dawn of a spring day of 326 B.C. The Raja of Taxila had died by this time and was succeeded by his son, Raja Ambhi (Omphis). The deceased Raja had met the invader in the previous year at some place in Kabul valley and had tendered the submission of his kingdom. The ready submission of the Raja of Taxila is understandable as he needed Alexander's help against his neighbouring enemy States, the hill state of Abhisara[1] and the powerful State governed by Poros.

It was Ambhi who was really responsible for dictating pro-Alexander policy to his father. As soon as Alexander crossed Indus, Ambhi sent a contingent of 700 horses, 30 elephants and 3,000 fat oxen, more than 10,000 sheep and 200 talents of silver with a message of homage, submitting, that he would not assume his ancestral kingdom unless he was blessed and confirmed by Alexander. Alexander ratified his assumption of princedom.

At Taxila, Alexander received the submission of a hoard of smaller chiefs, who personally attended upon the conqueror and proffered presents. This submission was repaid with such munificence and generosity that it provoked the envy and displeasure of Alexander's Macedonian officers. Abhisara considered it expedient to play a double game. On one hand, he sent his own brother to Taxila professing submission to Alexander and conveying his presents, while on the other hand, he prepared forces to join the army which Poros was mustering on the left bank of Hydaspes (Jhelum). Alexander, hoping that Poros would also display the same attitude as shown by Abhisara, treated Abhisara's envoy with marked consideration and sent summons to Poros requiring him to do the homage and pay the tribute.

At this crucial moment of great peril, undaunted spirit of Poros the Great, rose high to send the proud reply that he would meet the Yavana king at the frontier of his domain and settle his relations by the keen edge of his sword. Alexander was not known to refuse such a challenge. It did not take long enough for Poros to learn that despite the summer heat and approaching rains, Alexander, strengthened by Taxilan contingent and a small number of elephants was leading his forces eastwards to settle the score with Poros on the banks of Hydaspes (Jhelum).

1. The position of Abhisara or the kingdom of Abhisaras was correctly defined for the first time by Sir M. A. Stein who writes that Darvabhisara, *i.e.*, Darva and Abhisara, comprised the whole tract of the lower and middle hills lying between the Vitasta (Jhelum or Hydaspes) and the Chandrabhaga (Chenab) or (Akesines). . . . the hill state of Rajpuri (Rajauri and Bhimber).

It has not yet been finally settled which route Alexander took from Taxila to Jhelum and at what exact place he fixed his camp on the right bank of Hydaspes. Taking into consideration the long period of 22 centuries that has supervened, one cannot say with certitude how much change the topography of this route has undergone. But River Hydaspes (Jhelum) has not undergone much material changes between the point above the city of Jhelum up to the town of Jalalpur, the portion of the stream to which our discussion is mainly confined.

There are no two opinions on the point that Alexander must have reached Jhelum either at the place where the present town of Jalalpur is located or at the spot where the city of Jhelum is situated. Both the sites have found advocates of equal eminence. Burnes, Court and Abbot support the theory that Alexander set up his camp near the town of Jhelum while Elphinstone, Cunningham and Chesney support the site of Jalalpur town.

So far, four theories have been built, each claiming strength on the basis of topographical details and archaeological finds:—

(1) In 1848, Sir James Abbot adopted the theory propounded by Sir Alexander Burnes and Monsieur Court—one of Ranjit Singh's French Generals. He suggested that from Taxila, Alexander marched down what is now the Grand Trunk Road up to Jhelum and pitched his camp somewhere near the present city of Jhelum. From here he marched 10 miles upstream to Bhundana (Bhuna) crossed the river and fought his battle between the Eastern bank and the Pabbi hills.

(2) In 1933, Professor B. Brelser put forward a similar theory that Alexander advanced by the Grand Trunk Road, pitched his camp at Jhelum and crossed at a point 2½ miles below the fort of Mangla—13 miles above Jhelum and then advanced 15 miles down the left bank of the river and engaged Poros in battle.

(3) In 1863, General Alexander Cunningham put forward the theory that Alexander advanced South of Grand Trunk Road along Taxila, Dhudhial, Jalalpur (over the Salt Range some 30 miles below Jhelum), camped at Jalalpur from where he marched along a passable but difficult detour. This route is up the Kahan Kas (Nullah) near Jalalpur, from the head of which a track proceeds for 3 miles in a northernly direction down another nullah, which then turns suddenly to the East for 6½ miles and then again 1½ miles to the South, where it joins the River Jhelum below

Dilawar. This whole detour is approximately 17 miles though the actual distance from Jalalpur to Dilawar is 8 miles. He mentions that Alexander crossed over in the area of Kothera and fought his battle with Poros on the site of present town of Mong (Rasul).

(4) In 1931, Sir Aurel Stein considered that Alexander advanced by the way of Taxila—Chakwal—Ara—Nandana Pass—Haranpur and pitched his camp at Haranpur. From there he marched $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles upstream to Jalalpur and fought the battle with Poros probably 5/6 miles South-West of Nurpur in the area of Padshahpur.

Before we proceed to discuss the question of fixing the spot from where Alexander crossed Hydaspes, it is desirable to quote such passages from Pliny and Arrian which throw light on this matter.

According to Pliny, "The distance between Taxila and the Hydaspes, as measured by Alexander's surveyors, was 120 Roman miles, *i.e.*, $110\frac{1}{2}$ English miles.

(1) "From the bank of the Hydaspes, projected a headland, where the river made a considerable bend. It was thick with every sort of trees and opposite was an island in the river, wooded and desolate . . . . observing this island opposite the headland, both being well wooded, and suited to hide the attempt at crossing, Alexander became determined to take his army over at this point. The headland and the island were about 150 stades (17 miles) distant from the great camp."

(2) "Alexander marched at some distance from the bank, lest the enemy, should discern that he was hastening towards the promontory and the island."

(3) "Upstream and along the Western bank, he posted a chain of sentries, each post in sight and hearing of the next one, with orders to raise a din and keep their picket fires burning, while visible preparations were made at the camp to effect a crossing."

There is no dispute about the location of Taxila. The ruins at and near Shah Dheri have been correctly identified as the site of Taxila city. Those who advocate that Jhelum city was the camping-ground of the Alexander's army, advance the following arguments:—

(1) From Taxila to Hydaspes, Alexander had the choice of two main routes. The northern or the upper route lies *via* Rohtas and Bakrala Pass.

The distance between Taxila and Jhelum city according to this route, is 94 miles. The second route *via* Dhudhial and Bunhar Pass reaches the bank of Hydaspes at the spot where the present village of Jalalpur is situated. The distance between Taxila and Jalalpur village is 109 to 114 miles. Both these cities—Jhelum city and Jalalpur—are situated on ancient lines of roads commanding ancient ferries. The invader would have preferred the shorter route, which had the additional advantage of narrow width of the river—1/3rd of the width of Jalalpur ferry. There is no reason, it is argued, why should Alexander choose the longer and difficult route when shorter and easier route was available.

(2) Strabo says that Alexander on his way to Hydaspes, throughout kept closer to the foot of the mountains than to the plains. In another passage, Strabo explains that Alexander adopted this line of march because the rivers which traversed it could be crossed with greater facility near their sources than lower down.

(3) According to Arrian, the spot higher up the river to which Alexander marched by night to 'steal a passage' was situated at a remarkable bend in the stream, which helped to conceal his movements. There is no such bend at the spot above Jalalpur between the villages of Mandiala and Kothera (where Cunningham locates the passage). But there is such a bend at Bhunna above Jhelum near Mangla.

(4) According to Diodorus, Alexander's army, during its passage to the Hyphasis, was exposed for 70 days to violent storms and rains. According to Curtius, 'during the operations preceding the battle, the soldiers of the opposing armies used to swim out to the islands and engaged in combat. The river confined by high banks, rushed in a seething torrent over sunken rocks'. Thus it is clear that the river was then in high flood owing to the torrential rains and melting of the snow. The width of the stream is mentioned as 4 Stadia (809 yards). At Jalalpur, during the end of June or beginning of July, the river is usually double this width. According to Curtius, the current was interrupted by sunken rocks. At Jalalpur, there are no sunken rocks—

(*a*) Cunningham and others of his school of thought argue on the basis of Pliny's figures for the distance from Peukolaitis (Charsadda) *via* Taxila to the Hydaspes. Pliny gives the distance from Peukolaitis to Taxila as 60 Roman—55 English miles. From

Taxila to the Hydaspes 120 Roman—110 English miles. These figures, according to Cunningham suit Jalalpur better than Jhelum city.

(*b*) According to Arrian, the fleet when descending Hydaspes, from Nikaia (site of the battlefield) reached the capital of Sophytes, the king of the Salt Range, on the third day. According to Cunningham, the capital of Sophytes was Ahmedabad which is just three days' distant for a laden boat from Jalalpur.

(*c*) Strabo's statement that Alexander's route as far as the Hydaspes, was for the most part towards the South. Jalalpur town and not Jhelum is in the due South.

These are the points urged by each school in support of their theory. Thus it is open to doubt whether Alexander's forces would be more likely to be descending on the Hydaspes through the Bakrala or Bunhar Pass.

At Rawalpindi, Toap Mankiala and Darapur, there are remains of cities which must have flourished in the Buddhists age and, perhaps, earlier, while the lower road, with many tracks of great antiquity, has nothing of importance to show between Taxila and Jalalpur. It is possible that the march may have been by both lines while the leader himself climbed the conspicuous peak of Jogi Tila to consult the oracle which, according to Plutarch, warned Poros to make terms with his cousin, the son of Jove.

From Taxila to the Hydaspes Alexander had the choice of two main roads. Either of them would be practicable provided the passes were in the hands of friends. The main chain of the Salt Range commences in the lofty hills of Chel formed by the convergence of three spurs, two of which extend as far as the Himalayan outliers. The first is traversed by the Grand Trunk Road at Bakrala and 20 miles lower down by the Dhudial—Jalalpur road at the gap through which the Bunhar Nullah flows. The spur on which Rohtas rests is terminated at this end by the Bunhar, and at the other end by the Nuhan Nullah, which flows through the Pabbi range near the apex of the triangle.

The lower road which emerges near Jalalpur is narrow and could be blocked by an enemy. One might suppose the Lord of the Salt Mines would hold Jalalpur and control this pass. Darapur, Jalalpur and Pind Dadan Khan must be strongly held by Sophytes, the king of the Salt Range. The line of the Grand Trunk Road occupied, in the interest of both parties, by the faithless Abhisara, may have furnished the only suitable line of advance.

The river had to be crossed by boats. There is no doubt that Alexander brought in sections his boats (with which he crossed Indus). These had to be re-assembled at the Hydaspes camp. According to Belbruck, Alexander's army consisted of 30,000 men. However, Arrian's estimate is much exaggerated. To transport an army of this strength many additional boats would be required. This could not be achieved without sufficient quantity of timber being available. The situation of the city of Jhelum is such that even during that remote period, as it is today, it must have served as a collection—depot of the drifted Deodar logs. Timber must have been an important item of Alexander's needs and Jhelum was the only place which could provide it. This consideration, too, must have weighed heavily in selecting the camp site.

Major Norman propounded a new theory. According to him, the Greek camp should be located near Pind Dadan Khan, far below Jalalpur and the crossing place at the Ahmedabad bluff, about 12 miles below Ahmedabad. This theory seems to be wholly untenable for many reasons.

No conclusive determination of the problem can be attained without exhaustive study on the spot by qualified students of ancient topography, skilled in critical methods. After closest study of the observations of Burnes, Court, Abbot, Elphinstone, Cunningham, Chesney, Norman, Pearson and Talbot (Settlement Commissioner of Jammu and Kashmir State), I venture to hazard the opinion, on the evidence available, that Abbot's solution is the best and Greek camp was set up at some place nearest to the present city of Jhelum.

The real date on which Hydaspes was crossed by Alexander is another disputed point. According to Arrian, it was the month of Mounychion in the archonship of Hegemon. Diodorus asserts that Alexander entered Taxila in the spring preceding the battle of (Hydaspes) and during the year in which Chremes was the archon at Athens and in which the Romans appointed Publius Cornelius and Aulus Postumius Consuls. Chremes succeeded Hegemon. If Chremes was the archon at Athens when Alexander entered Taxila, Hegemon could not be the archon when Alexander crossed the Hydaspes because Hegemon preceded Chremes. Diodorus obviously appears to be wrong.

There is no doubt on the point that the battle was fought in the year 326 B.C. According to the calculations made by Unger the corresponding Attic year is supposed to have begun on June 25, 327 B.C. and ended on June 15, 326 B.C. Mounychion—the tenth month of the Macedonian calender—would approximately fall between April 14 to May 14. Thus according to one statement of Arrian the battle took

place on some day between April 14 to May 14 in the year 326 B.C. But there is another statement by Arrian in which he says that the battle was fought after the summer Solstice, which means, some time later than June 21. These two contradictory statements cannot be reconciled except by the supposition that Alexander reached the river bank on some date in the month of Mounychion (between April 14 to May 14) and Arrian inadvertently gave it the date of the battle.

But the confusion does not end here. It is made worst confounded by a statement recorded by Strabo on the authority of Nearchus that the Macedonian army was on Acesines (River Chenab) at the time of the summer Solstice (about June 21). This would support Arrian's statement that the battle was fought in the month of Mounychion, *i.e.*, some time during the middle of May and after settling his affairs with Poros and giving necessary rest to his army and offering customary sacrifices he reached Acesines (Chenab) by the end of June. This shows that the rains and storms mentioned during the period preparatory to the battle and during the battle were unusual as the monsoon had not yet set in. The real monsoon weather started after the battle of Hydaspes. Alexander crossed Acesines (Chenab) some time by the end of June and proceeded on to Hydraotes (Ravi). After crossing Ravi, he received the capitulation of Pimprama, invested Sangla[1] and reached Hypasis (River Beas). All this journey from Jhelum to Beas must have taken considerable time for a big army to move and crush all opposition in the way. Alexander met real monsoon during this period as according to Diodorus when the army reached Hypasis (River Beas) it had endured violent shower of rain for 70 days. Thus in all probabilities the great battle of Hydaspes was fought some time during the end of May.

Some critics have proposed to read Metageitnion (July-August) as the month instead of Mounychion: an alteration approved by Mr. Clinton and received into the text by Schmieder. But if this alteration be admitted, the name of the Athenian archon must be altered also: for Metageitnion of the archon Hegemon would be eight months earlier (July-August, 327 B.C.); and at this date, Alexander had not as yet crossed the Indus, as the passage of Aristobulus (Ap. Strabo xv. p. 691) plainly shows—and as Droysen and Mutzel remark, Alexander did not cross the Indus before the spring of 326 B.C. If in the place of the archon Hegemon, we substitute the next following archon Chremes (and it is remarkable that Diodorus assigns the battle to this latter archonship xci, xvii, p. 87) this would be July-August 326 B.C., which would be more admissible date for the battle than the preceding month of Mounychion. At the same time substitution of Metageitnion is mere conjecture and seems to have hardly time enough for the subsequent events. As far as an opinion

1. Sangla Hill in Sheikhupura District.

can be formed, it would seem that the battle was fought about the end of June or the beginning of July 326 B.C., after the rainy season had commenced ; towards the close of the archonship of Hegemon and the beginning of that of Chremes[1].

All this confusion resulted because the Macedonian officers, on whose testimony the annals were compiled must have expressed the dates in the terms of Macedonian calendar. Thus historians committed the error in converting Macedonian dates into Attic and Roman dates. Hogarth has rightly urged that our knowledge of Macedonian calendar is very imperfect and little is known of the methods used for converting Macedonian dates into those expressed in terms of other calendars.

Poros sent a body of troops under his nephew "Spitaces" to contest Alexander's advance in the narrow defiles of the hills. The Greek army threw them back in confusion and reached the banks of Hydaspes without any major incident. The vanguard of the Yavana army to take possession of the right bank was the contingent which brought into sections the boats which were used for crossing the Indus. These were re-assembled and a small fleet of Greek flotilla of boats appeared on the Hydaspes. Those watching from the left bank could see, without straining their eyes, the Greek army pitching their tents and Alexander the Great himself deploying them in order.

A body of 5,000 Indians, the contingent supplied by Raja Ambhi, could be clearly marked out as drawn up with their new comrades-in-arms, the Macedonians. On the opposite side, Poros deployed his army, 50,000 strong, with 4,000 horses, 300 chariots and 200 elephants. Now a width of 809 yards only, the breadth of Hydaspes, separated the two armies.

Before we proceed further, it appears necessary to give outlines of the Macedonian army and its organizational set-up.

Since early times, the Macedonian army consisted of three forces:—

(1) *Hetario* (*Companions*)—This consisted of the king's retinue of nobles. This was a mounted force armed with cuirass and the short thrusting spear (XYSTON), for close combat. It should be remembered that the Greeks rode bare-back horses, without saddles and stirrups. This force included the Royal Horse Guard which was commanded by the Royal son and was responsible for the protection of the king's person in the battle. The charge of the Greek Cavalry was in form a thrusting

1. George Grote (Vol. xii).

melee rather than the lance charge of the medieval knights. The Greeks were excellent horsemen and the charge of their cavalry was most formidable.

(2) *Agema*—It was a small foot guard of household troops who guarded the king at all other times except in the battle. This was a standing professional force.

(3) *Tribal Levies of Infantry*—These were recruited from the peasants and mountain shepherds. It was an untrained rabble, armed with the sword or spear and a wicker shield. These Tribal levies were converted into a professional army by Philip.

Alexander inherited from his father Philip of Macedonia a perfectly organized, trained and equipped army of classical times. His army consisted of—

(1) *Royal Companion Cavalry*—These were horsemen armed with XYSTON. One royal son commanded the Royal Horse Guards which was responsible to protect the person of the king in the battle-field.

(2) *Royal Hypaspists*—This was a lightly armed and equipped force which was used to follow up the cavalry, storm the ramparts, undertake rapid night marches and other mobile operations. Out of this, one battalion was of Royal Foot Guards who were responsible to protect the person of the king, at all times other than in the battle.

(3) *Territorial Army*—This consisted of six battalions of Hoplites (heavily equipped Greek Foot Soldiers referred to as the Phalanx) and were armed with the SARISSA, a spear or a pike 13—16 feet long, held in both hands with the shield slung on the left shoulder. The purpose of the territorial army was to provide the Royal Army with a pivot for manoeuvre. Its task was to pin down the enemy's Phalanx while the Royal army assaulted. Each battalion had a Commander and each file was commanded by a "File-Leader". Rear-most man in the file was "File-Closer". "File-Leader" and "File-Closer" were both most efficient Soldiers of each file.

(4) *Artillery*—Although we get little information about the Artillery Section of the Macedonian army, yet it is on record that Alexander made use of catapults as his field artillery. For the first time in the history of war, catapults were deployed to cover a river crossing in the ILLYRIAN

Campaign (335 B.C.). These were also used with considerable affect to cover the assaults. Even during Alexander's most exacting marches, the field artillery accompanied him. It must have been transported in sections on pack animals like modern mountain artillery. Alexander has the distinction of being the First Field-Gunner in history.

Alexander's Commanders

The regiments of the Companion Cavalry, organized on a five HIPPARCHY basis by Alexander, for the battle against Poros, were commanded by HEPHASTION, PERDICCAS, CRATERUS, COENUS and DEMETRIUS. The number of the battalions of the Phalanx (HOPLITES) were raised from six to seven and were commanded by ANTIGENES, MELEAGER, POLYPERCHON, ALCETAS, ATTALUS, GORGIAS and CEITUS the White. SELEUCUS commanded the Royal HYPASPISTS and TAURON the Archers.

Command

Alexander himself held the three-fold command; he was simultaneously a Commander-in-Chief of all his forces, G.O.C. in personal command of the army and Generalissimo of all other allied forces placed under his command.

Staff

PERMENION was Second-in-Command to Alexander. (He held the same post in the days of King Philip) Permenion had at his disposal staff to assist the King. A small company of selected officers of high position acted as an informal Council and formed his general reserve, both for special duties and for filling all high offices, whether military or administrative.

Services

(1) *Engineering Services*—Alexander had a number of Greek technicians. He had a siege train, the Chief Engineer being Diades the Thessalian. There were Sappers for siege work and making positions, and Water and Mining Engineers. There was a Survey Section which collected information about routes and camping grounds and recorded the distances marched.

(2) *Administrative Service*—There was a baggage train and supplies were collected in each district conquered and used for the next advance. The Secretariat Department wrote the journal, the daily official record

of the expeditions. It is sad that no information is available as to how the army was supplied in the field.

(3) *Miscellaneous Services*—There were Physicians as Philip the Acarnanian, Naval Experts and Scientists and Official Historian CALLISTHENES, nephew of Aristotle.

Fleet

A considerable fleet of undecked galleys of light structure about 120 feet in length and 20 feet beam was used by Alexander in his campaigns. Their crew numbered about 200 men a galley.

Before the battle with Poros, Alexander re-organized his cavalry. He separated the AGEMA (Royal Squadron) from the companies and took personal command of it. Excluding horse and archers and a few mercenaries, he divided the rest of the army into five hipparchies, each of 1,000 men. Four of them were composed of one squadron (300 men) of companies, with them 700 Eastern Iranian Horsemen were brigaded. The remaining hipparchy was almost entirely Iranian.

The melting of the snows and usual rains in the catchment area of Hydaspes had increased the volume and the velocity of the channel. Poros watched the movement of the Greek army with unremitting vigilance and kept a keen watch on all the landing places. To lull the vigilance of Poros, Alexander made public announcements that he would mark time till the setting in of the favourable season and to give an appearance of truth to this declaration he employed his troops in collecting large stores of provisions. However, secretly, rafts, galleys and smaller boats were prepared and hidden away in the upper reaches of the river. Determined to 'steal a passage', the flotilla of boats continued movements up and down the river searching for a ford; with all apparent pretensions of waiting for the winter when the river became fordable. At long last, careful reconnaisances did find a spot—17 miles above the camp—where the stream, according to Arrian, had a remarkable bend, and the embarkation could be conveniently concealed by a bluff and an island covered with forest. A fleet of river boats was secretly despatched to this point of wantage, to remain in readiness for embarkation. Leaving Krateros with the bulk of the army of the Taxilan contingent to guard the camp near Jhelum; imparting precise and detailed instructions as to how he should use his reserve to support the main attack: posting three Generals with Cavalry and Infantry in between the camp and the place of embarkation with orders to cross over when the Indians were fairly engaged in action; Alexander himself

hand-picked 12,000 men consisting of Macedonian horses and foot, horsemen from Bulkh and Bukhara, light-armed Balkan Mountaineers and Archers and, in the words of Arrian, started to 'steal a passage'.

It was a night when the sky was thickly overcast. Alexander, with prudent audacity, led his men secretly and unobstrusively — at some distance from the bank— to the embarkation spot. With the first streak of dawn Alexander with his 12,000 picked men, unperceived and secretly, embarked the fleet already waiting in ambush. A single boat carried Alexander and several of his great Captains, men who, in after days, were destined themselves to rule great tracts of the earth, and to plot against each other's lives.

PERDICCAS[1], the future regent,

PTOLEMY[2], one day to be the king of Egypt,

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1. Perdiccas, son of Orontes, a descendent of the independent Princes of the Province of Orestis, distinguished himself at the conquest of Thenes (334 B.C.) and held an important command in the Indian *campaigns* of Alexander. In the settlement made after Alexander's death (323), it was finally agreed that Philip Arrhidaeus, an insane son of Great Philip, and Roxana's unborn child (if a son) should be recognized as joint kings, Perdiccas be appointed, according to one account, as guardian and regent, according to another Chiliarch under Craterus. He soon showed himself intolerant of any rivals, and acting in the names of the two kings (for Roxana gave birth to a son Alexander IV) sought to hold the empire together under his own hand. His most loyal supporter was Eumenes, Governor of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. These provinces had not yet been conquered by the Macedonians and Antigonus (Governor of Phrygia, Lycia and Pamphylia) refused to undertake the task at the command of Perdiccas. Having been summoned to the royal presence to stand his trial for disobedience, Antigonus fled to Europe and entered into alliance with Antipater, Craterus and Ptolemy, the son of Lagun. Perdiccas, leaving the war in Asia Minor to Eumenes, marched to attack Ptolemy in Egypt. He reached Pelusium but failed to cross Nile. A mutiny broke out among the troops disheartened by failure and exasperated by his severity, and Perdiccas was assassinated by some of his officers in year 321 B. C.

2. Ptolemy—Thias, Mistress of Ptolemy was responsible for setting fire to the palace of Darius. It happened in this way that when Alexander entered Persia, he occupied the palace of Darius while Darius himself fled away. Alexander designed to march against him. Before setting out, he diverted himself with his officers at an entertainment of drinking and other pastimes and indulging so far as to let everyone's mistress set by and drink with them. The most celebrated of them was Thias, an Athenian, Mistress of Ptolemy, who was afterwards the King of Egypt. She, partly as a sort of well-turned compliment to Alexander and partly out of sport, as the drinking went on, at last was so far carried as to utter a saying, not misbecoming her native country's character though somewhat too lofty for her own condition. She said it was indeed some recompense for the toils she had undergone in following the camp all over Asia, that she was that day treated in, and could insult over, the stately palace of Persian monarchs. But she added, it would please her much better if, while the king looked on, she might in sport, with her own hands, set fire to the court of that XERXES who reduced the city of Athens to ashes, that it might be recorded to posterity that the women, who followed Alexander, had taken a severe revenge on the Persians for the sufferings and affronts of Greece, than all the famed Commanders had been able to do by sea or land. What she said was received with such universal liking and murmurs of applause, and so seconded by the encouragement and eagerness of the company that the king himself persuaded to be a party, started from the seat and with a chaplet of flowers on his head and lighted torch in his hand, led them the way, while they went after him in riotous manner dancing and making loud cries about the place; which when rest of the Macedonians perceived they also in great delight ran thither with torches for they hoped the burning and destruction of the royal palace was an argument that he looked homeward and had no design to live among the barbarians (Persians).

LYSIMACHUS[1], to be the king of Thrace, and carry the Macedonian armies into what is now Rumania,

SELEUCUS[2], who would inherit Alexander's Asiatic empire. Never had a single bark carried a load of such a galaxy of celebrities, nor ever had a single boat with so much history packed in its hull, ever swayed upon any stream.

The enemy had no suspicion of what was happening until the fleet appeared in the open river beyond the wooded island and Alexander dis-embarked his force without opposition.

Now wild storm, torrential rain and violent thunder burst in all its fury. Lightening struck men here and there in his columns and Alexander saw his men burnt and dying with lightening. The storm raged in fury and rain poured in torrents. When the raging storm had spent its fury and abated a little, Alexander realized that

1. Lysimachus the Acarnanian was Alexander's teacher. Philip the father of Alexander, took great care to educate his son. It was committed to a great many attendants, preceptors and teachers over whom Leonidas, a man of austere temper and a near kinesman of Alexander's mother Olympias, presided. In reality, his dignity, nobility and near relationship obtained him from other people the title of Alexander's foaster-father and Governor. But he who took upon himself the actual place of and style of his Pedgagogue, was Lysimachus who, though he had nothing specially to recommend him, his lucky fancy of calling him Phoenix, Alexander-Achilles and Philip Peleus was well enough esteemed, and ranked him in the next degree after Leonidas.

On the authority of Chares, Plutarch has recorded that Alexander once risked his life for Lysimachus. While the body of the army lay before Tyre, Alexander made an excursion against the Arabians, who inhabited the Mount Antilibanus.

Lysimachus insisted on accompanying Alexander asserting that he was neither older nor inferior in courage to Phoenix, Achilles's guardian. Quitting their horses they began to march up the hills on foot. The rest of the soldiers out-wend them a great distance. Alexander had to stay behind for long in order to encourage and help the lagging and tired old Lysimachus. He became aware that he was left behind a long way from his soldiers, guarded by a small number of attendants. He was forced to pass an extremely cold night in the dark at a very inconvenient spot. He saw many scattered fires of the enemy at some distance. Trusting in the agility of his body and ever ready to undergo toils and labours himself to cheer and support the Macedonians in any distress, Alexander ran straight to one of the nearest fires, killed two men of enemy who stayed by the fire side with his dagger, alighted brand and returned with it to Lysimachus and his small attendants. They immediately made great fire which so alarmed the enemy that most of them fled and thus they rested securely the remainder of the night.

2. Seleucus (surnamed for later generations Nicator) was a Macedonian, the son of Antiochus, one of Philip's Generals. As a young man of about 23, he accompanied Alexander to Asia in 333 B.C., and won distinction on the Indian soil in 326 B.C. When Macedonian empire was divided in 323 B.C. (the Partition of Babylon) Seleucus was given the office of Chiliarch which attached him closely to the person of regent Perdiccas. Seleucus himself had a hand in the murder of Perdiccas. At the second Partition at Triparadises (321), Seleucus was given the Government of Babylonia strapy. Master of Babylonia, Seleucus at once proceeded to wrest the neighbouring provinces of Persia, Susiana and Media from the nominees of Antigonous. A raid into Babylonia conducted in 311 by Demetrius, son of Antigonous did not seriously check Seleucus's progress. Whilst Antigonous was occupied in West, Seleucus during the 9 years (302 to 311) brought under his authority the whole of the Eastern part of Alexander's empire as far as the Indus. In 305, after the extinction of old royal line of Macedonia, Seleucus, like the other four principal Macedonian chiefs, assumed the style of king. His attempt, however, to restore Macedonian rule beyond the Indus where Chandragupta had established himself, was not successful. Seleucus entered Punjab but felt himself obliged in 302 to conclude a peace with Chandragupta by which he ceded large districts of Afghanistan in return for 500 elephants.

the rains had wedged in a swollen channel between the place of his landing and the main shore. The landing, having been sighted, the outpost guards went galloping to inform Poros. At this moment of supreme risk, the fate of Alexander hung on tender hooks. Caught in a trap, if the intervening channel was not fordable and the army of Poros had reached in time, the fate of Macedonian conqueror would have been sealed on the sand dunes of a tiny island or in the blind eddies of Jhelum river. But Alexander's luck was a cubit longer than any man's on earth.

Frantic efforts and step by step survey were made if the channel was fordable. At long last, a point was found where the stream was fordable. Infantry struggled with breast deep strong current and horses swam with hardly their heads out of water. When he came across it with great difficulty and got a footing on the land, which was slippery, unsteady and exposed to the face of the current on both sides, on the authority of Onesicritus, he is reported to have exclaimed: 'O ye Athenians, will ye believe what dangers I incur to merit your praise'.

Of the many Greeks in Alexander's service most distinguished of all was Bumenes, a native of Kardia in the Thracian chorsonese. Bumenes combining an excellent Grecian education with bodily activity and enterprise had attracted, when young, the notice of Philip the Great and had been appointed as his Secretary. After discharging his duties for seven years until the death of Philip he was continued by Alexander in the post of Chief Secretary during the whole of his life. He conducted most of Alexander's correspondence and the daily record of his proceedings, which was kept under the name of 'Royal Ephemerides'. Plutarch compiled his account of Alexander from this correspondence. It is safe to give the account of the battle with Poros in the words of Plutarch, who had quoted Alexander's letters—

> 'Here the men left their boats and passed the breach in their armour up to the breast in water. Then (Alexander) advanced on horse about 20 furlongs ahead of his Infantry concluding that if the enemy charged with their Cavalry he should be too strong for them. If they charged with their Infantry his own Infantry would come up in time to his assistance. Nor did he judge amiss, for charged by a thousand horse and sixty armed chariots, which advanced before their main body, he (Alexander) took all the chariots and killed 400 horses at the spot'.

This is the account of preliminary skirmish with the son of Poros. The son of Poros was near the spot of Alexander's landing with 1,000 horses and 60 chariots. He came hurrying but a little too late to find the European army already drawn up. Finding a larger body of troops than he could successfully contend, he sent a message

to his cousin Stripaces, who was holding lower down. Stripaces came up with 60 more chariots and 100 horses.

The young prince with a total force of 2,000 mounted men and 120 chariots came up against the well deployed and drawn up army of Alexander. Any youth, with lesser courage, would have fled to save his own life against such heavy odds. But, with blood in his veins and breath in his breast, the courageous son of Poros the Great would not like to be beaten at his ancestral game. He marched straight to engage this formidable host which was led by Alexander himself, the greatest conqueror of history. As he came nearer, detachments of horses broke from Alexander's army and swept towards him. The men from the steppes of Central Asia descended a hail of arrows upon the Indian Cavalry. Then started the charge of Macedonian horse, squadron after squadron. This was a most unequal fight. The soil was wet, infirm and muddy because of heavy rains. All the 120 chariots ran headlong into the mud, got stuck and rendered ineffective. At this hour of supreme crisis, Paurava blood surged high into the veins of this fearless prince. He courageously advanced to receive the charge of the Macedonian Cavalry and laid down his own life along with 400 men of his army in defending the honour of his ancestral soil.

The fugitives of the shattered squadron carried the woeful tale of disaster that had befallen the young prince, to Poros.

Alexander had left 17,000 foot and 18,000 horse in the camp under Craterus with orders to attempt passage as soon as he found the army of Poros thrown in confusion by his own attack. He had also stationed Meleager, at a point half way between the camp and the place of embarkation and had posted from the point of embarkation to the site of his camp running sentries at audible and convenient distance from each other all along the bank so that they could communicate all orders and messages to the main camp. To decoy the army of Poros and divert their attention from the actual site of Alexander's disembarkation Craterus ordered his army to make a clamour, raise the din and fill the shoals with every kind of noise and continue raising the battle-cry to give an impression to Poros that Alexander was attempting a crossing in front of his camp site. Poros was alerted and concentrated his force at a spot where impression was created that Alexander was attempting a crossing. Meanwhile Alexander had crossed un-noticed at a distance of 17 miles upstream.

Poros on receiving the news of the landing of Greeks could not divine from which direction the main attack would come. Noticing the din and noise raised just opposite to him in the Greek Emperor's camp, he could not relax his guard in

this direction. It appears that on receiving the news of Greeks landing, he sent a small body of soldiers under his son to deal with them presuming that a small number of Greek soldiers had got across.

Soldiers of the shattered squadron broke the news to Poros that no river separated Alexander any more, and Poros realized that the hour of supreme crisis had come. He quickly moved the bulk of his army to face the greatest conqueror of history leaving behind 4—5 hundred foot soldiers and 35 elephants[1] to hold the river bank against the Division commanded by Craterus.

Different authorities give different estimates of Poros army. According to Arrian, it was composed of 4,000 cavalry, 30,000 infantry, 300 chariots and 200 elephants. Diodorus estimates it at 3,000 cavalry, 50,000 infantry, over 1,000 chariots and 30 elephants. According to Curtius it was 4,000 cavalry, 30,000 infantry, 300 chariots and 85 elephants. After wading through all the information available, it is estimated that Poros brought in the field 200 elephants, 300 chariots, 4,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry.

Poros hurriedly moved his army to meet the invader. If the crossing of Alexander is accepted at a place $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles below Mangla Fort, the only battle field is Karri Plain, girdled on the North and East by the low hills and about 5 miles in width at its broadest part, Poros deployed his force with elephants in the front. Two hundred huge beasts were drawn up in front at a distance of about 100 feet from each other and probably in 8 ranks. Behind the elephants stood the force of 30,000 infantry projected on each side like wings and beyond the foot soldiers, cavalry was stationed to guard either flank with chariots in front of them. Each chariot was drawn by four horses and carried six men of whom two were archers, two shield bearers and two charioteers. Diodorus says that the Poros army looked like a city, the elephants resembled the towers, men-at-arms placed in between them resembled the walls. An image of some god, Krishna or Indra was held aloft before the ranks. In the midst of the army, Poros sat upon an elephant of exceptional size, encased in a heuberk of cunning workmanship which left nothing but his right shoulder bare and visible to all and surveying all. Almost all the historians agree that Poros was 4 cubits and a span high and when he occupied his seat upon the elephant which was of the largest size, his stature and bulk were so answerable that he appeared to be proportionately mounted as a horseman on his norse. It is recorded that Alexander was much struck with the stature and personal beauty of Poros and this visual impression contributed to determine or at least strengthen his favourable sympathies when Poros was brought to him as a captive.

1. E.A.R. Beavan—Cambridge History of India Vol. (Ancient India).

Equipment of Poros Army

The infantry were armed with a broad and heavy two-handed sword suspended from the left shoulder and a long buckler of undressed hide. In addition, each man carried either a javelin or a bow. Arrian describes the bow as made of equal length with the man who bears it. They rest it upon the ground and pressing against it with their left foot, thus discharge the arrow having drawn the string backwards. The arrow was a little short of three yards length and nothing could resist an Indian archer's shot neither shield nor breast-plate.

The Battle

Alexander fully conscious that his small force had no chance of success in a direct attack on the centre of Poros Army, resolved to rely on the effect of a vigorous cavalry charge against his left wing. One thousand mounted archers from Central Asia released a storm of arrows on the Indian left wing. Indian bowmen tried a counter attack, but the soil under their feet was muddy and slippery due to the preceding rains and the ends of their long and heavy bow could not find a firm rest to deliver the charge.

Alexander himself, with his Macedonian horse guard roughly bore down upon the left wing while the European body of horse under Coenus furiously fell upon the right. Both the wings of the Indian army being crushed, they fell back in their retreat upon the Centre and 'fled for shelter to the elephants as to a friendly wall'.

Arrian gives a graphic account of the battle on the authority of the men who actually participated in this action—

> "The elephants being now cooped up within a narrow space caused no less damage to their own friends than to their foes, trampling them under their feet as they wheeled and pushed about. There resulted in consequence a great slaughter of the cavalry, cooped up as it was within the narrow space around the elephants. Many of the elephant drivers had been shot down and of the elephants themselves some had been wounded, while others both from exhaustion and the loss of their Mahouts no longer kept to their own side of the conflict, but as if driven frantic by their sufferings attacked friend and foe quite indiscriminately, pushed them, trampled them down and killed them in all manner of ways. But the Macedonians, who had a wide and open field, and could, therefore, operate as they thought best, gave way where the elephants



charged, and when they retreated, followed at their heels and plied them with darts; whereas Indians who were in the midst of the animals suffered far more from the effect of their rage".

"When elephants became quite exhausted and their attacks were no longer made with vigour, they fell back like ships backing water, and merely kept trumpeting as they retreated with their faces towards the enemy. Then did Alexander surround with his cavalry the whole of the enemy's line, and signal that the infantry, with their shields linked together so as to give the utmost compactness to their ranks, should advance in Phalanx. By this means the cavalry of the Indian was, with a few exceptions, cut to pieces in the action. Such also was the fate of infantry, since the Macedonians were now pressing them from every side".

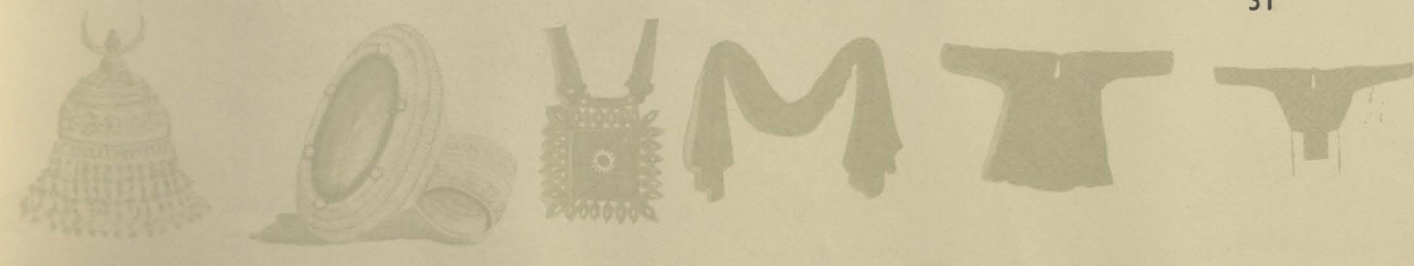
"Upon this, all turned to flight wherever a gap could be found in the cordon of Alexander's cavalry".

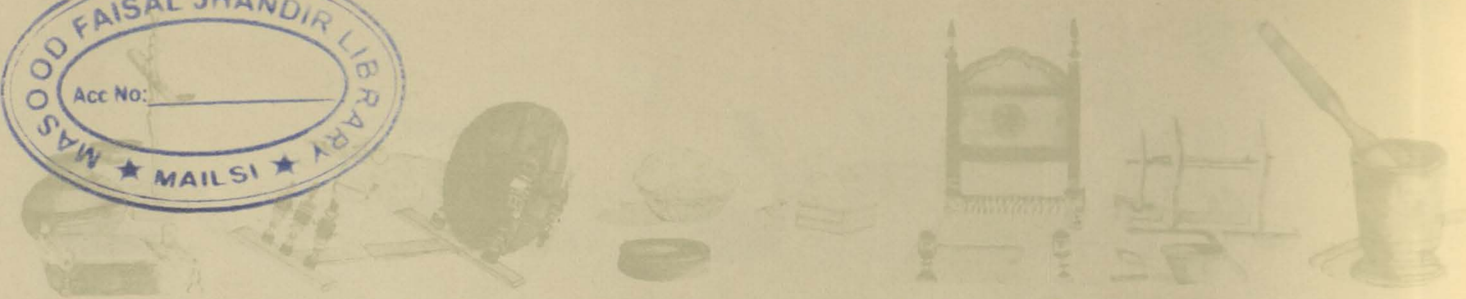
Poros, the handsome monarch of gigantic stature, fought with the utmost gallantry, rallying his broken troops and keeping them together until the last. His elephant during the whole battle, gave many singular proofs of sagacity and of particular care of the king, whom, as long as he was strong and in a condition to fight, he defended with great courage, repelling those who set upon him. When he perceived him overpowered with his numerous wounds and the multitude of darts that were thrown at him, to prevent his falling off, he softly knelt down and began to draw out the darts with his proboscis[1].

Poros, with singular courage, fought to the last, saw two of his sons slain and himself received nine wounds on his person. By this time Craterus army left on the right bank of the river crossed over and fell upon the shattered army of Poros and caused terrible carnage. It was a sight of sheer butchery and man-slaughter. Be it admitted to our eternal shame that we learn it from none else but the Greek historians that Paurava king remained in the thickest of the fight, keeping his elephant where the arrows rained heaviest, received nine wounds on his body, one gashing his bare right shoulder, and unlike the Persian monarch, to save his own skin, he did not turn to flight.

When it was the 8th hour of the day, Poros's army was completely vanquished, leaving the battle field saturated with the blood of 8,000 of his horsemen

1. Plutarch.





and 12,000 of his foot soldiers. Nine thousand foot soldiers were taken prisoners and all the elephants and chariots were either captured or destroyed. When all hopes were lost the royal elephant turned and made its way from the place of carnage. Due to the loss of blood, the monarch of Gujrat was fainting with thirst. He had not gone far when a man came galloping after him and shouted at him to stop. Poros turned round to recognize the hated face of Ambhi who was sent by Alexander with a message. Though fainting with weakness and thirst, Poros gathered all the strength that his wounded arm could muster and threw a javelin at his accursed foe. Ambhi parried the attack and ran back to his overlord. Shortly again, Poros was overtaken by some other messengers sent by Alexander. Poros recognized among them one "Meroes" whom he believed still to be his friend. Poros was overcome by weakness and thirst caused by the loss of blood. It came to him that he had done all to defend his honour to the last he could, and it was no use now to refuse yielding to destiny. He halted the elephant and alighted. The envoys of Alexander gave him to drink. Refreshed, he made them take him to the presence of his erstwhile foe.

As Alexander saw Poros approaching, he himself galloped forward to meet him. When Poros was face to face with the conqueror of the world, Alexander was struck with admiration at the handsome, stately, proud and undaunted bearing of the Paurava king. "What treatment would you desire to receive", asked Alexander. "As a king", Poros replied. When the interpreter explained the reply to Alexander, he was not satisfied. He asked for something more precise. "When I said, 'as a king', everything was contained in it", replied Poros.

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